114 add a new meaning without disturbing the main text. DL did not attempt to incorporate new material. It would be better not to tinker with the existing work but to wait till our work here was done and put new facts into shape for a supplementary volume.

The anthropological material would in any case be an entirely separate business.

194 One very tiresome task connected with the Vocabulary was to achieve what certainty was possible about aspirates and cerebrals. Neither David nor I had when young any scientific training in phonetics—the modern science of phonetics simply did not then exist—and perhaps our ears are not naturally acute. Anyhow, neither of us can distinguish these finer shades of sound with any certainty. Burushaski has, for instance, four different t's: a dental t and a cerebral t (= t and ṭ) and the same two sounds plus a light aspiration (= th and ṭh). It is practically convenient and scientifically lamentable that the English t holds an intermediate position between them. Our ordinary t does quite beautifully for conversational use. No doubt in all cases it sounds slightly "foreign" to a Hunza ear, but it seems to be perfectly acceptable. This, however, isn't good enough for accurate recording. Fortunately Qudrat Ullah was intelligent enough to detect the difference, and David has taught him to be on the *qui vive*; so they set to work through the whole Vocabulary to check every single spelling authoritatively. The scientist and phonetician will therefore be able to get the accurate spellings there and the more casual spellings of the Grammar and Texts will be good enough for the ordinary student.

If it was only the t's! But there are a dozen other sounds afflicted with cerebral and aspirate doubles. It was a long and weary business to register them all, but one at least which could only have been tackled on the spot. The ordinary speaker is of course unaware of these refinements of his own pronunciation. An odd point is that the aspiration is frequently dropped in Hunza speech in derived forms, whereas Nagir Burushaski is more logical in the matter; with them apparently "once an aspirate, always an aspirate" is the usual rule.

ILLNESS CALLS A HALT

● 194 Personally I felt at times impatient of the time that had to be "wasted" on these subtleties; but my better self acknowledges their importance—or potential importance—for comparative philology. I am, I fear, a curious mixture of a shameless philistine and a scholar *manquée*!

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

prefixing of an *a*; a further lengthening of the vowel will convert the same transitive into a causative. If the three verbs are clearly said one after the other, the difference is easy to distinguish, but I know no form of conversation in which the speaker wants to perform this feat. When one verb is heard alone in the quick current of colloquial speech I defy the beginner to be always certain which vowel-length has been employed.

Another bewildering trick of Burushaski speech—the importance of which I must confess we did not at once discern—is that almost any word may mean its exact opposite if pronounced with lengthened vowel and a different tone of voice. If you ask what sort of a horse a would-be seller has brought, the answer *yashkian* may mean either "a very suitable, satisfactory beast for you to ride," or alternatively "a miserable nag you could not be seen on." You need to know. It is best to go and look. *Caveat emptor*, anyhow! Similarly, if I asked Zaidu how much flour we had left in store and he replied *kaman*, this might be interpreted "a good deal, quite enough for the present," or "just a little," or "very, very little indeed."

This playing on vowel length, quality, and tone is carried to amazing lengths. The only kind of parallel I can think of in English is a child's use of *tiny* as less small than *teeny-weeny*, or the onomatopœic *squeak* denoting a thinner, less important sound than *squawk*. The Burusho can imply admiration, ridicule, contempt, degrees of size, importance, loudness, and what not by skilful sleights of vowel play. The only mild approach we can make to this in English is when by our intonation and expression we can say: "He's a fine fellow, he is," and give it to be understood that the remark is ironical But *we* use this phonetic irony with extreme economy, whereas it is lavishly employed in Burushaski.

A particular snare into which I was apt to fall—though on paper I could have passed a stiff examination on the facts—lay in this: prefixes apart, Burushaski has no one word for *brother* or *sister*. If said by a boy, *acho* means "my brother"; if said by a girl "my sister." This form of the word means, in fact,

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

197 accepting Marr's views, deals with the subject in some detail and enumerates a long list of Bu.-Cauc. accordances.

The great number of Cauc. languages and their extreme variety may in one way be said to render his undertaking comparatively easy. On the other hand the same circumstances undoubtedly detract considerably from the value of the conclusions drawn from a comparison between Bu. and words and forms culled from the Cauc. languages in their modern form. Possessing only a most superficial knowledge of Cauc. languages I shall not endeavour to discuss all the points raised by Bleichsteiner, but it may be useful to consider a number of the most important ones in order to gain an impression of the tenability of his thesis. I shall try to give a fair selection of his arguments and not to leave out any of his best points.

It must be remembered that the Bu. and W. material which Bleichsteiner had at his disposal was far from exhaustive and not always correct.

I shall deal with Bleichsteiner's comparisons in the same order in which he presents them.

Phonology. 197 194 The similarities between the phonetic systems of Bu. (including W.) and Cauc. mentioned by Bl. are very vague and of little interest. This does not, however, disprove relationship. Nobody could find out from the phonetic systems of Modern Irish and Bengali that these languages belong to the same family.

There is, however, one apparent phonetic accordance between Bu. and certain N.E. Cauc. dialects. Acc. to L.[1] we find in Bu.-W. a curious change of 'initial voiced sounds to their voiceless counterparts when they become medial', e.g. W. bultu *day:* he-pultu *to-morrow*. Bl., p. 296, connects this change with that of a *final* media into a tenuis before a suffix, e.g. in Kürin rab *needle:* pl. rapini. I had also been struck by this parallel, but further consideration made me doubtful of its significance. In the first instance the Bu. change affects an *initial*, the Cauc. a *final* consonant. Then, as pointed out by L., Bu. often renders a foreign initial

[1] § 10.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

tenuis by a media in loan-words. Thus Bu. baša *turban* < Shina paṣo; Bu. gu·pas, W. γu·pas (Leitner kupásya) *cotton* (*thread*) < Indo-Aryan, cf. Skr. karpāsa; Bu. gi·li *peg* < Shina ki·li, etc. Probably Bu.-W. initial surds have become voiced in certain, as yet unknown, circumstances.[1] This change has taken place late enough to affect even loan-words, and cannot go back to a common Bu.-Cauc. period.

Morphology. I. Nominal Classes. The Bu.-W. system of nominal classes is undoubtedly in general accordance with that of several N.E. Cauc. languages. I admit that I have always been impressed by the similarity in this respect between Bu. and Andi, which together with some other Daghestan languages has four classes: 1) m., 2) f., 3) animals and some dead objects, 4) all the rest.[2]

But we must not forget: a) That similar systems of classification appear in other languages as well. b) That it has not as yet been shown that the 4th class of Andi etc. is based upon the same conception as the Bu. y. class.[3] c) That other N.E. Cauc. languages have up to eight classes and that we are not in a position to assert that the four-class system in the original one. d) That the formation of the classes and their use differs, as admitted by Bl., considerably in Bu.-W. and Cauc. The similarity between the *t* in Bu. gu-tɛ *this* (y.) and the *t'* in Archin ya-t' *this* (4th class)[4], has very little significance in view of the great number of varying class-elements in Cauc. which differ altogether from those in Bu.

On the whole I am inclined to believe that the existence of nominal class-systems in Bu. and Cauc. cannot be taken as more than an indication of the *possibility* of relationship.

II. The parallelism between the use of possessive prefixes in Bu.-W. and N.W. Cauc. is less striking than that mentioned

[1] Cf. also ki·ne h. *this*: gu-se x., gu-te y. — But note tiṣči *span* < diṣti- (v. below p. XXIII!)

[2] Cf. Bl., p. 299, Dirr., Einführ. in die kauk. Spr. p. 183.

[3] Жирков, Грамматика Даргинского языка does not give any information on this point.

[4] Including, *inter alia*, sexually immature animate beings — a conception unknown to Bu.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

In §§ 1 sqq. L. explains his notation of Bu. and W. sounds; and he does not claim a perfection which is unattainable when making the first serious attempt to describe a new and strange language. 194 197

The difficulty does not consist merely in recording the sounds actually heard, but also in distinguishing between essential "phonological" differences and variations within the range of a single phoneme and in detecting the system of phonemes. This is specially hard in the case of the vowels. L. has done wisely in giving his impression of the sound-varieties heard in each case, and I shall not make a premature attempt to establish the phonological system of Bu. vowels.

To a certain extent it seems possible, however, with the abundant material and the descriptions of the sounds given by L., to distinguish the vowel phonemes from the variations due to the position in the word or to the individual speaker.

Thus *a*, ʌ and ə seem to be variants of the *a-* phoneme, ə appearing especially before *r* (e.g. fər, gər, hər). The vacillation between ʌ and *aʳ* e.g. in giraм, giraʳm *clan*, *village*, gupaltiŋ, gupaʳltiŋ *trousers* and the rendering of Prs. baʳdaʳm *almond* by bʌdʌm would seem to indicate that they, too, are variants of the same phoneme. But on the other hand the difference is significant e.g. in gaʳn *a crow* (=ga+ʌn): gʌn, gan *road;* gaʳr *giddiness:* gər *marriage;* gaʳl *wound:* gʌl *juniper;* gıraʳn *dear:* giraм *basket*, etc. It is possible that some speakers distinguish between an *a* and an *aʳ* phoneme, others not.

It is more doubtful whether *i* and *iʳ*, *u* and *uʳ* are to be classed as separate phonemes. Cf. e.g. hir, hiʳr *man*, hirum, hiʳrum *active*, giraм, giʳraм, etc. *village*, gıli, giʳli *peg*, hurgo, huʳrgo *ascent*, hoʳlguš, hoʳlguʳš *battle*, gunts: guʳnts *day*, etc. Probably there is only one *i* and one *u* phoneme. The same applies to *e: eʳ* and *o: oʳ*.

Probably *e*(ʳ) and ɛ(ʳ) are also variants of the same phoneme, cf. γeʳniš and γɛʳniš *queen;* g(y)e, g(y)ɛ *snow;* heʳraʂ, hɛraʂ *to weep;* deʳk, dɛʳk *cooking-pot*, teʳlɛ, tɛʳlɛ *there*.

3: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

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Apparently ʊ and ɪ are unstressed variants of *u* and *i*, cf. e.g. gukɛ: guˑkɛ *these*. But in spite of cases like goˑn, gun *dawn* o and *u* must be considered to be separate phonemes. The same is undoubtedly true also of *ai* : *e* and *e* : *ə* although we find, exceptionally, (personal?) variations such as tail, təil, te.il, teˑl *such*, ɣai.iŋ, ɣe.iŋ *grapes*.

The vowel system of Bu. would thus appear to include the following phonemes; *a*, *e*, *i*, *u* and *o*. To these should probably be added *aˑ*, although quantity does not appear to be of phonemic significance in other parts of the system.

As regards the consonants L. is probably right in taking *g*, ɣ, *q* to be variants of *g*, ɣ and *q* due to the proximity of *y*.[1] But the last mentioned sound is certainly a separate phoneme.

Regarding the cerebrals, aspirates, gɣ and W. *ɬ* see below.

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[115]

During my stay in Chitral in 1929 I had an opportunity to take down short lists of Bu. and W. words. My Bu. informant was a certain Abdullah[2] from Baltit. The other called his language Wəˑčikwaˑr and his native valley Wərčiguˑm = Yaˑsiˑn.[3]

I worked with each of them for a couple of hours only, and I am, of course, aware of the utter insufficiency of my observations. But both of my informants had a very good and clear articulation[4] and on the whole my notations agree unexpectedly well with those of L. and Zarubin (whose material I had not at hand). It may not be devoid of interest, therefore, to compare some of my words with those given by L. for the sake of checking and corroborating his perception of the sounds.

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Many words are identical in L.'s and my notation of Bu. E.g. toˑrumo *ten*: maˑtum *black*; -ʂan *chin*; haˑɣur *horse*; guš'puˑr *prince*; -'taʈas *palm of the hand*. In some cases my notation of vowels differs slightly from L.'s. This may partly be due to individual latitude

[1] V. § 6. b.

[2] Brother of Ali Madat, cf. Texts, p. II.

[3] Acc. to Abdullah: Buršugum.

[4] I had less difficulty in recognizing their aspirates and cerebrals than those of some Dardic dialects which I had the opportunity of hearing for a much longer time.

of pronunciation, but I have no doubt that his forms are on the whole the more correct ones. Thus I have ˈalto[1] (aˑlto)[2] *two*; ˈaltarˢ (aˑltər) *twenty*; ˈnanamutə (nanamutə) *eyeball*; -ltumal (-ltumal) *ear*;[4] har (hər) *bull*; ˈhari (həri) *barley*; gări (gəri) *pupil of the eye*; -šak (-šak) *arm*; sar (sər) *hare*; pharič (pfəriš) *duck*; biˈsarš (bisərš) *sickle*; yăn (yan, yɐn) *handle*; iski (iˑaki) *three*; ˈbatsiˑn (batain) *thigh*; miˈšindo (miši˘ndo) hxy *six*; urk (uˑrk) *wolf*; -ˈsusun (-suˑsum) *elbow*; -lčumutə (-lčumutə) *eyes*; ˈhunzɛ (huˑnzɛ) *arrows*; ˈusko (usko) *three*; ˈtsundo (tsundo) *five*; ˈhunčo (hunčo) *nine*;[5] -ˈmulturăŋ (-multuraŋ) *nostrils*; joṭumutə (joˑtumutə) *small boy*; hurˈgaško (huˑrgas) *thick*;[6] -lpureŋ (-lpuˑraŋ) *eyebrows*; šəl (šəˑl) *avalanche*.

As far as my material goes I heard cerebrals in all words where they are given by L.

Thus: -yăṭis (-yæṭis, etc.) *head*; -mupuš (muˑpuš) *nose*; oˑṭis (-uṭis) *my foot*; aṣ (-aṣ) *my neck*; ˈḍoḍo (ḍoˑḍo) *throat*; ˈamiš, ˈgumiš (-amiš) *my, thy finger*; muč (=) *fist*; tišči (=) *span*; čiš (čiš) *hill*; biˈrenč (biranč) *mulberry(-tree)*; baš (=) *bridge*; manč (manč) *adze*; haˈriš (həriˑš/š) *spade*; ṭiˈŋɐn (ṭiŋan) *egg*; malˈtaš (=) *clarified butter*; šaˈpik (=) *bread*: šɪ- (ši-) *'to eat'*; -eṭăr (-aṭɛr) *to*.

Besides these I heard a cerebral in čhur (čur) *knife*; šɪˈkɛrk (šikərk) *yellow, brass*; buˈšăi (bušai.i) *field*; peṣ̌o (peˑšo) *pear*; juˑuˑ (ju) *apricot*; buˈšoˑšo (bušoˑšo) *calf*; ˈačo, goˑčo (-ačo) *my, thy brother*; šiˈqam (šiqam) *blue*; ṭiˈli (tiˑli) *walnut*.[7]

My notation of aspirates agrees with L.'s in khan *castle*; aˈphoi (for -phoˑiŋ?) *my shoulder*; -phiˑnišo *hair*; tham *king*; phu (phu, pfu) *fire*; phɛti (pfɛtiŋ) *ashes*, etc. But I heard aspirates also in thas (tas) *smoke* and thalo (talo)[8] *seven*.

On the other hand I have rarely noted čh, č̣h: čap (čhap) *meat*; čumo (čhumo) *fish*; čar (čhər, čər) *high hill*; čuˈmar (č(h)umər, etc.) *iron*.[9] But note the loan-word č̣hur (čur) *knife*.

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[1] With a deep *a*.

[2] Lorimer's forms are throughout given between brackets.

[3] First *a* palatal, second *a* velar.

[4] E.g. ˈaltumal *my ear*; ˈmiltumal *our ear*; ˈgusmu ˈmultumal *the woman's ear*; ˈoltalik ine ˈhiˑre ˈiltumaliŋ *both of this man's ears*.

[5] All three with advanced *u*.

[6] In: ˈine ˈhiˑre but h° yuˈyaŋ biˈčan *'this man has very thick hair*.

[7] But cf. W. teˈlę below p. XXIX. — "I now support all the forms given by you except ṭili". Lor. 2—4—1935.

[8] But cf. LSI., Bu. *th*alo, W. thale. — *"thas thalo* are said to be correct". Lor. 2-4-1935.

[9] L. W. čər, čumaˑr. — "QUB admits that the difference between *č* and *čh* and *č̣* and *č̣h* are slight, and in pronouncing on them his reactions are usually much slower than in the case of other aspirates. I can hear no difference as a rule" Lor. 2—4—1935.

●114 I heard, with L., *q* in qar'qa·muts *hen;* ši'qam *blue;* siq *iron arrow-head,* a·qat (-akat, -aqat?) *my armpit,* but not in to'bak (tobaq) *gun.* My a'qhat *my mouth* corresponds to L.'s xat. but in a letter L. states that a variation between *x* and *qh* appears in several words, e.g. in xam, qham, kham *cooked vegetable.*

Corresponding to L.'s ɣ, ɣ.[1] I distinctly heard a voiced velar affricate in my Bu. informant's pronunciation of 'ᵍɣa·mǫ *ice;* 'ᵍɣe·niš *gold;* 'ᵍɣa'i·ŋg *grape;* 'ᵍɣi'i·n *thief;* 'ᵍɣaṭenč *sword:* L. ɣamu, ɣɛniš, ɣai.iŋ, ɣi·n (gi·n),[2] ɣa'tenč.

In words ending in a vowel I generally heard a faint final aspiration: gyɛh *snow;* bu'ah *cow;* ya^{h} *bear;* sa^{h} *sun;* amɛ^{h} *my tooth;* ja'mɛ^{h} *bow* (L. gyɛ, bu·a, ya, sa, -mɛ, -ǯamɛ). But after an initial *h* I heard ha *house* (= L.).

The peculiar sound *ɣ*, described by L. § 6, b, I heard as a kind of fricative retroflex r, which I have noted ṙ: baṙ *millet;* aṙa *my father:* bay, -uy. But it was, of course, impossible to determine the exact nature of this sound in the time at my disposal.

I noted a slightly palatal ᶯ, ŋ in han *one;* khan *castle;* gan *road;* and also in gaŋ'i *axe;* aᶯ'i (*-ŋi) *my beard.*[3]

In ba·l^{t} *apple;* ha'tal^{t} (həralt) *cloud* the final *t* was weakened, possibly implosive. I heard no *ɣ* in 'do·um (do.ɣum) *right* and ɣa·vum (ɣauɣum) *left.*[4]

The *g* in 'ču·gudar (ču·ɣudər) *peach* is probably due to a mistake on my part.[5]

In W., also, my notation of vowels in some cases differs slightly from that of L. or of Zarubin. E.g. yaṭes *head;* -as *heart;* sende *river;* ɣendeš *gold;* 'hare *barley,* har *bull;* ha'ɣo·r *horse;* huk *dog;* buš *cat;* gan *road;* bu'ru·m *white;* ma'tu·m *black;* 'ba'rdum *red;* ha'lants *moon;* čar *cliff:* L. -yɛṭis, -as, sind, ɣendiš, hərɛ, hər, haɣur, hu·k, bu·š, gan, burum, matum, bar'dum, ha'lants, čər; Z. 'yaṭes, as, sende, —, hare, har, haɣur, huk, buš, gau, bu·rum, ma'tum, bardum, halandz, —.

I heard cerebrals in 'yaṭes *head;* -hu·ṭes (L. hu·ṭis, hu·ṭis) *foot;* 'a·meš (L. -amiš) *my finger;* ṭi'ŋän (Z. ṭin'gan) *egg;* 'aẓo, (L. aẓo,

[1] Cf. § 6 c.

[2] "ɣaeiŋ and sometimes 'ɣi·in". Lor. 2—4—1935.

[3] Acc. to Lor. (2—4—1935) *-ŋgi (v. Gramm. p. 136) is a slip.

[4] "When there is w's and o's about *ɣ* tends to sound to me as a corresponding *w*". Lor. 2—4—35.

[5] "QUB. says the word is definitely only ču·gudər, but I think I have heard -ɣ- too. Lor. 2—4—1935.

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ačo, Z. 'aču) *my brother;* iš'kark (L. ɨɪkərk, šɪ-, Z. iš'kark) *yellow,* and besides in γendeš *gold* (v. above): -muṣt (Z. mušt) *fist;* 'teščik (Z. 'teštik) 'span'; pha'riš *duck;* branš *mulberry* (both with a cerebral in Bu.); u'rk (Z. urk) *wolf;* čirč (Bu. čiš) *ladder;* 'aṇi' (Z. nɪ') *my beard;* haγoṣt (L. Bu. haγuts) *hill.*

'ačiṇ (Z. 'ašṭiṇg) *waist;* barts (L. bərč, Z. barč) *bridge;* bisarč (Bu. bi'sarč) *sickle;* šičam ba (L. šičam ba, Z. šičam, cf. Bu. šič-) *I am eating;* is'qam (L. ɪšk'am, Z. iš'qam, Bu. ši'qam) *blue* are probably misheard or miswritten forms.

Aspirates occur in a'phenas (Z. 'penas) *my hair;* a'pho'γonas (Bu. phoi) *my shoulder;* khan *fort;* tham *king;* thame-'ye' *prince;* 'pha'riš *duck.* No aspiration was heard in 'ču'mu *fish;* čap (= Z.) *meat,* ču'mar (L. čuma'r, Z. ču'mar) *iron.*[1]

Corresponding to Bu. ᵉγ- I heard γ in γa'iṇ *grape;* γɛ'n (Z. γen) *thief;* 'γendeš (L. γendɪš) *gold;* γa'tenš (Z. γ/ya'tenj) *sword;* γa'mu (= Z.) *ice.*

No final ʰ was noted in gye (Z. gyĕ') *snow; sa* (= Z., L.) *sun;* a'me (Z. mä) *tooth;* nya (= L., Z.) *bear;* ha (= L. Z.) *house.* But deʰ *village* from Prs. and 'bi'a' (L. bi.a, Z. bi'ya) *cow* with glottal stop. This sound was also noted in ba' (L., Z. ba) *millet,* corresponding to Bur. r.

Z.'s velar ɬ (ɬ) I have only noted in a'hi'ɬ (Z. hiɬ) *my lip.* Not in hal (Z. ha'ɬ) *fox;* te'le (Z. teɬä) *walnut;* 'ta'lo (L. talɛ, Z. ta''ɬu) *seven;* a'u'l (L. au.u'l, Z. awul/ɬ) *my belly.* It is quite probable that Z.'s Russian ear was able to distinguish different kinds of *l* better than L.'s or mine. On the other hand he may have been led astray by the lack of a "neutral" *l* in his own language. Before a surd I heard a voiceless *l*[2] in al̥to (L. alto; Z. aɬ'tan) *two;* al̥'tambo (L. al̥'tambe, Z. aɬ'tambu) *eight;* 'wal̥to (L. walt, Z. 'waɬto) '*four*'; ha'ral̥t (Z. haraɬt) *cloud;* ba'l̥t (Z. baɬt)' *apple;* -l̥tumal (L. -ltumal, Z. 'tumaɬ) *ear:* -l̥či (L. -lčin, Z. lči) *eye.* Z., too, has ordinary l in ha'lants (L. ha'lants, Z. halandz) *moon;* tu'l (= Z.) *snake.*

q was noted in 'paqo (L. pako, pʰa'ko پَقو, Z. 'paku) *bread;* is'qam *blue* (v. above), qar'qa'muš (Z. qa'r'qamuš) *hen.*

I have yut (but Bur. L., Sh. jut) *grass;* ya, źa, (L. ja, Z. źa) *I, my,* in ya 'yates *my head,* y/źa' bap *my father,* y/źa 'pako 'šičam ba *I am eating bread.*

[1] Cf. above p. XXVII.
[2] Cf. § 503.

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●194 Note also my ʿayumus (Z. ʿyungus, but Bu. -umus) *tongue.*

A few of the words given above have not been noted before, or only by Z. In order to corroborate the forms heard only by *one* previous observer I give also the other words in my list which are not included in L.'s vocabulary:

-muš *nose;* -xat *mouth:* -sesen *elbow;* ʿaken *liver;* san *sand;* guʏr *wheat;* ʿgirkis *mouse;* sar *hare;* aʿyast *my sister;* all identical with Z.'s forms. -šak (Z. šakʿ) *arm;* -ʿuʏru (Z. ʿuru) *nail;* ʿirič (iʿrič) *kidney;* bap (Z. baʏp) *father;* yainži (ʿyanji) *water-mill;* daʿʏom (Z. daʿʏum) *flour.*

Göteborg, 30th November 1934.

Georg Morgenstierne.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

In a letter from Hunza of 18th Nov. 1934 Colonel Lorimer gives some additional information about some Bu. sounds, from which I quote the following passages: "I have now heard from QUB and one or two others in Aliabad initial 1) ˢʏ- (going also into > gʏ- > g-), medial -ʏ- seems to remain plain spirant. 2) ʰx- (or ᵍx-?). This QUB always says is "xe", x-, but I tend to record it as kh-. Medially, to both our minds it changes into -q- (*-xəras, ixəras *to cut up*, but ppc. niqər; xəraṭas *to stick, adhere*, but cs. *-ʌqəraṭas).

Then there is ph-, pf-, f- which is an instance of the same phenomenon. I haven't noticed any tendency to *w-* > ᵇ*w*, and there are no dental spirants".

[Ad p. XII, l. 12. — But cf. e. g. Luganda; v. BSOS. VII, p. 917. — Corr. note].

Göteborg, 18th January 1935.

Georg Morgenstierne.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The alphabetical order followed in the Vocabulary is as follows:
Vowels: *a*, *ʌ* and *æ*, *ai*, *au*, *e* and *ɛ*, *i* and *ɪ*, *o* (including *ɔ* and *ɒ*), *u* and *ʊ* (and *ü*).
Consonants: *b*, *ć* (including *ćh*, *ć* and *ćh*), *d* and *ḍ*, *f*, *g*, *γ*, *h*, *j* and *ǰ*, *k* and *kh*, *x*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *p* (including *ph* and *pf*), *q*, *r*, *s*, *š* and *š̌*, *t* (including *th*, *ṭ*, *ṭh*), *ts* and *ts.h*. *w*, *y*, *y̌* and *ž̌*.

An attempt was made to distinguish and separate *a* from *ʌ*, and *e* from *ɛ*. This I came to see was a mistake, but only when it was too late to rectify it, except in the Werchikwar Vocabulary, and in the Burushaski Vocabulary in the case of initial *e* and *ɛ*, which have been combined.

In many cases the differences between these sounds are accidental, due merely to stress, which may vary, and to other undiagnosed causes, and these variable sounds cannot be relegated to one category. In this connection see Professor Morgenstierne's remarks in his Preface, p. XX.

The alteration of some of these variable sounds in the course of revision necessitated the transference of a number of words in the Vocabulary. A few have been overlooked and are now out of their alphabetical place, e.g. *lʌlɛvr*. Attention has been drawn to these in the Corrigenda.

While vowels were over-differentiated, certain types of consonants which should have been distinguished, were treated as one. Cerebrals and non-cerebrals, aspirates and non-aspirates ought to have been kept separate, but I was originally too uncertain about many of the sounds to be able to give effect to this principle. Now, however, the initial keyword represents, in almost every case, the form of the word considered correct by QUB.

Internally, some effort was made to rearrange groups of otherwise similar words according to the presence or absence in them of cerebrals and aspirates (e.g. the entries *dʌm* and *ḍʌm*, *dɔr* and *ḍɔr*), but at the stage then reached practical considerations necessitated the abandonment of this procedure, with the

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● 194 result that series of entries such as *ṭham*, *ʃam*, *ṭam*, *ʃham*, have remained unadjusted.

The following remarks on a few of the vowel sounds supplement what is stated in § 3.

ɔ, representing the sound of English *awe* may some times be heard in a few words as a variant of *o*, e.g. *ɣɔrći*.

ȯ occurring medially in some monosyllables appeared to me to be a short and advanced *o*.

ü I now believe to be *u* pronounced with spread lips and the tongue somewhat retracted owing to the neighbourhood of *y*. The point of articulation is probably in advance of that of *u*.